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If we had room, we should like to accompany the following Call with a rousing appeal to all those who abhor treachery and love freedom; but the Call speaks for itself, and we have no doubt the meeting will be a most crowded and enthusiastic one.

MEETING

IN THE
MILL CRADLE OF LIBERTY.

A meeting of the citizens of Boston and vicinity, who have heard with surprise, alarm and deep regret the recent speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster in the U. S. Senate, on the subject of Slavery, and who are impressed with the duty and importance of bearing an emphatic public testimony against it, as in derogation of humanity and the cause of liberty universally, especially as it relates to the following points, namely—the non-application of the Wilmot Proviso to the territory of New Mexico, the adoption of Mr. Mason's bill for the seizure of fugitive slaves, and the multiplication of new slave States out of the present State of Texas—will be held, without distinction of party, in the **MILL CRADLE OF LIBERTY**, on Monday evening next, March 26th, at 7 o'clock. It is hoped that every one who has any regard for the honor of Massachusetts or the welfare of the republic will endeavor to be present on the occasion. Able and eloquent speakers will address the meeting.

The galleries will be reserved for the ladies.

**SAMUEL G. HOWE,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
HENRY WILSON,
FRANCIS JACKSON,
SAMUEL E. SEWALL,
EDMUND JACKSON,
CHARLES F. HOVEY,
WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
ROBERT MORRIS.**

The Rev. Samuel R. Ward, whose lectures are advertised below, is a thoroughly good gentleman, and one of the most able and eloquent speakers in the United States, whether white or black.

SAMUEL R. WARD,
 Of New York, (Editor of the Impartial Citizen,) will speak as follows:—

Worcester, Belknap-st. Church, Boston, Wed' day " 27. Lynn, New Bedford, Friday " 28. Providence, Sunday and Monday, March 31, April 1.	Tuesday eve'g, March 26. Wed' day " 27. Thursday " 28. Friday " 29. March 31, April 1.
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The friends of the cause, in each of these places, are respectfully solicited to see that suitable arrangements are made for the meeting.

ANTI-WEBSTER MASS MEETING,
 in Belknap-street Church, on Wednesday evening, March 27th, at which **SAMUEL R. WARD** will be present.

Let there be a grand rally.

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

Pursuant to a vote passed by the Plymouth County (Old Colony) Anti-Slavery Society, holden at Plymouth on the 22d and 23d of December last, the members and friends of the Society are hereby notified, that a Quarterly Meeting of said Society will be held at Cobb's Hall, North Bridgewater, on **FAST DAY**, April 11th, 1850, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through the day and evening.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON and WENDELL PHILLIPS will be present on the occasion. The meeting will, undoubtedly, be one of deep interest, and those who wish to enjoy a "feast of reason and a flow of soul," will do well to attend. Never was there a time when our cause bid more fair to triumph than now. Onward, then, friends of humanity, for there is "a good time coming."

BOURNE SPOONER, Pres.
 H. H. BRIGHAM, Sec.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Society will be held at Lynn on Saturday and Sunday, March the 23rd and 24th, to commence at 3 o'clock, P. M. The Board of Managers are desirous that this meeting should be one of the most spirited and profitable meetings ever held in the County. While Congress is almost wholly employed in discussing the questions, whether this curse of slavery shall be extended over new regions of territory or be annihilated in the old—while the whole South are excited to action, and are calling Conventions to take measures to strengthen Slavery—surely the friends of Freedom ought to be equally vigilant and active. Come, then, one and all, and take counsel together, and devise means for the overthrow of this giant sin. Wm. L. Garrison, Lucy Stone, with other eloquent speakers, have engaged to be present. Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem, will address the friends at the close of the meeting, Sunday evening, upon the present aspect of the cause, and the duty of the Abolitionists. Per order of the Board of Managers.

The meeting will be held at Lyceum Hall.

RUTH BUFFUM, Rec. Sec.

SOUTH GARDNER.

PARKER PILLSBURY and LUCY STONE, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, propose to hold an Anti-Slavery meeting at **SOUTH GARDNER**, on Sunday, March 31st, at the usual hours of meeting, day and evening.

LUCY STONE.

An Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture as follows:—

Malden,	Friday,	March 22
Lynn, (County meeting.)	"	" 23 & 24
Charlton,	Tuesday,	" 28
Barre,	Friday,	" 29.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Plymouth,	Friday,	March 22.
Fitchburg,	Tuesday,	" 26.
Winchendon,	Wednesday,	" 27.
Westminster,	Friday,	" 29.

ESTABLISHED INDEPENDENT MEETINGS,
 at Washingtonian Hall, 21 Bromfield street, every Sunday afternoon. W. M. FERNALD preaches here on all subjects pertaining to Theological and Social Progress. *Santa free.*
 Subject for next Sunday afternoon—The Law of Association for Society.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in **MILLVILLE**, at Darling's Hall, on Saturday evening, March 26.

Also, on Sunday, March 24, afternoon and evening, at the usual hours of meeting, at the same place.

At Horticultural Hall,

PRATT'S BOTANICAL AND POETICAL PANORAMA OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN, with three groups of Adam and Eve, as large as life, in oil colors.

Open every evening at 6 1-2, and moves at 7 1-2 o'clock.

Also on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, at 3 o'clock.

Admission 25 cents. Children half price.

Mirror of the Lakes
 AT AMORY HALL.

BURR'S SEVEN MILE MIRROR, or a Tour of 2000 miles on the Great Lakes, the Niagara, St. Lawrence, and Saguenay Rivers, illustrated on 100 cards of Moving Canvas, perfectly representing 200 Villages, over 100,000 Buildings, and 300 Steamboats, Ships, and other Vessels. The following Cities and Localities are among the many: the City and Harbor of Buffalo, Niagara Falls, the Cities of Hamilton, Toronto, and Kingston, the Thousand Islands, Ogdenburg, Prescott, the Grand Rapids, Montreal, the City and Citadel of Quebec, Montmorency Falls, and the Great Gulf. This vast artistic composition ends displaying the awful attributes of the Saguenay River.

Hand Book to the Mirror, 12 1-2 cents.
 Doors open at 6 1-2—Mirror moves at 7 1-2 o'clock.
 Admission, 25 cents—Children half price.
 Day exhibitions Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, at 3 o'clock.



For the Liberator.

THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION.

[EXTRACT FROM AN UNPUBLISHED POEM.]

'Union?' There is a Union, such as binds
In living compact high and free-born minds!
It is the law of God and man, more strong
Than union of worlds united wrong!
And though we mourn our separating land,
This deathless moral Union, this shall stand!
For when God's Spirit speaks through every clime,
All human bondage is a heinous crime,
Then let your governments and statutes strong—
Your laws antique, by men sustained though wrong;
Let heaven and earth depart in hopeless shade,
But God's eternal law shall never fade!
From out the ruined mass there will arise
A nobler Temple, radiant to the skies!
Nor doubt such obvious, strong asserted truth,
For when our God doth speak, 'tis highest proof!

'The Constitution!' handed down? My friend,
There is a Constitution, long since penned
By One who knows beginning from the end;
In words divine 'tis written out on all
The things which He hath made, both great and small.
Behold you evening sky, serene and fair!
Is not a Constitution shining there,
Whose burning Articles do all agree,
Man is created to be free!
Free as the light of golden noon-day sun,
Or stars that through their varied courses run!
Free as rolls Nature's income from each bower,
Where heaven doth pour a silent dew shower!
Free! free as God's own Spirit moves
To bless through all his universe of love;
As free as Spirit zephyrs sent to give
The heart of flesh a glow, and bid it live!

Meadville, March 5, 1850.

FROM THE TRUE DEMOCRAT.
THE UNCONQUERABLE.

BY E. D. HOWARD.

Let the true heart never falter—
Let the earnest never quail!
It is as sure heaven is o'er us,
Or the future is before us,
Sure as Time's unceasing motion
O'er eternity's vast ocean—
Truth and Justice will prevail!

Look not with dim gaze and doubtful
On to-morrow's smile or gloom;
Rather with a glance comprising
All the future's wide horizon,
Without thought of time or distance,
Or computing of resistance,
Know the victory to come.

Let us wear so stern a purpose,
Tempered with such lofty zeal,
That the holy bolts of error
Chested of their flashing terror,
Harmless, still, shall fall, expended,
Glancing from our breasts defended
By a mail more true than steel.

Though our foes in countless numbers
Sorely press on every hand,
One pure thought shall win more glory
Than a thousand weapons gore;
One bright truth shall prove more mighty
Than a thousand despots, fighting
'Gainst our noble little band!

Where humanity is weeping,
Where the tyrant's hand is strong,
Point the fire of truth unceasing,
Every flash the light increasing;
Rain the burning shower upon them,
Dash the ringing thoughts among them,
Face invincibly the wrong!

Fear not—doubt not—know forever,
God and heaven crown the right!
Cast away the ties of fiction,
Every feeling round to action,
Know not prejudice or station,
Claim no right but one relation—
Brother in the fight.

Look not for the world's approval;
Look within your beating heart;
If to meet thy inward glance
Each pure sentiment advances,
Wreaths of flowers and odors bearing
Hero crowns for thee preparing,
Best of conquerors thou art.

Ask not if the foe be mighty;
Question not thy doubting fears;
Ask but if thy cause succeeds
E'er will stand a wound that's bleeding,
E'er will break a galling fetter,
E'er will make a sad lot better,
E'er will wipe away a tear.

If thy soul, to thee replying,
Sayeth 'such the end must be,'
Doubt no more, but strive forever,
Confident thy pure endeavor
With success will be rewarded;
For in heaven it is recorded,
Right alone is victory!

Doubt no more—the day of triumph
Every life-thro' brings more nigh!
Work with constant heart and cheer,
Though the sky be dark and fearful;
Onward press, no power can stay thee,
Heaven's smiles will not betray thee,
Bright'ning from the throne on high.

Raise the shout in every valley,
From the hill-tops fling it forth;
Rouse the world with tones of thunder,
Burst the bonds of wrong asunder,
From the firesides of the nation
Call each true man to his station;
This shall liberate the earth!

WHAT DO WE MORE THAN OTHERS?

BY JOHN SWAIN.

We love by whom beloved we are,
For means and ends are so connected;
Thus is the glory of a star
Back to its source reflected.
We kindly greet the friend who thrills
Our bosoms with an earnest greeting;
But sounds obtain from rocks and hills,
As ready a repeating.
'Tis just to render blows for blows—
Fair friendly words to match another's;
But if we do more than this,
What do we more than others?

If there be those who, if they could,
Would change our spirit's joy to sadness—
Turn into evil all our good,
Put out our light of gladness—
If they are near to work us woe,
Do we return for evil, evil!
And do we learn to lay low,
Instructed by the devil?
Or, pity we in truth their lot—
Regard them as our erring brothers—
And only seek their good? If not,
What do we more than others?

Reformatory.

GOVERNMENT AND THE SWORD.

EXPOSITION OF THE 13TH CHAPTER OF ROMANS.

From an excellent work recently published at
Oberlin, Ohio, entitled, 'THE BIBLE AGAINST WAR, BY
AMOS DRESSER.' [Continued.]

Whoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth
the arrangement of God.

'They who resist, by themselves shall receive the
punishment.' That is, the punishment is self-inflicted
by the very act of opposition, and the facts of universal
history attest the truth of it. As an illustration
in point, see the history of the Jewish captivity, found
in Jer. 24:32.

The Revolutionary War an illustration in point.

Our own revolutionary struggle affords another
striking illustration of the truth, that they who resist
shall receive to themselves damnation.

Our fathers left the mother country to escape re-
ligious tyranny, but had hardly breathed the air of
freedom, before they in turn began to lay the same
oppressive yoke upon the necks of the Baptists and
Quakers. They also persecuted to the death many
innocent ones accused of witchcraft.

The rights of the poor man of the forest, and when in-
censed, instead of winning him by the gospel, as
did William Penn, drove him to a returnless distance,
by cruelty and revenge; and so in various ways pro-
voked the God of heaven to say, 'Shall I not avenge
these things, and shall not my sword be steeled on
such a nation as this?' Jer. 5:9-20; 9:3.

When God, as punishment for our sins, began
to give us a moiety of the dregs of oppression, had
we repented, and by fasting, supplication and prayer,
sought the Lord, the curse might evidently have
been averted; and then, having put away our trans-
gressions, in 'returning and rest,' we might have
been 'saved.' Had every soul been subject to the
existing powers, and by 'weakness' and 'fear' those
who opposed us, our fathers and brothers
who were in the British soldiery could never have
engaged in the fratricidal butchery as they did. But
we not only violated this plain injunction of Heaven,
but even provoked hostilities by revenge for minor
wrongs; dared them to fire, and then resisted un-
til, striding against military power, they were
defeated, and received the consequent damnation. The
withering curse of war was permitted to sweep over
the land, desolating the whole country, and poison-
ing the whole atmosphere. Saying nothing of the
human gore that moistened our soil—nothing of the
millions of property destroyed and money expended—
nothing of the thousands upon thousands of val-
uable lives sacrificed to Moloch—what havoc of
two was made—what a flood-gate of vice was open-
ed! Says General Washington,

'Our conflict is not likely to cease so soon as every
good man could wish. The measure of our iniquity
is not full; for speculation, peculation, engrossing,
forestalling, with all their concomitants, afford too
many proofs of the decay of public virtue, and too glaring
instances of its being the interest and desire of too
many who would be thought friends, to continue the
war.'

'Such a spirit of avarice and peculation,' says one
of our own historians, 'had crept into the public de-
partments, and taken a deep hold of the majority of
the people, as Americans a few years before were
thought incapable of.' This was the effect of the war.

'There sprang up during the war,' says another, 'a
race of men who sought to make private advantage
out of the public distress. This public pest spread
widely every day, and finally gangrened the very heart
of the State.'

'The Christians of that day took a still more serious
view of the case. A Presbytery in New England, all
friends of the war itself, published a volume to illus-
trate its malign influences upon the moral character of
the community. They specify the vices and sins that
had become most prevalent. 'The profane lan-
guage,' say they, 'is become the fashionable dialect.
The youth, that was bred in innocence, and was never
heard to defile his tongue with one profane oath in his
life, no sooner gets on board a privateer, or has spent
a few days in a camp, than we find him learned in all
the language of hell.'

'Corruption, fraud and cruelty grew apace. 'Be-
nevolence to our fellow-men,' say they, 'was perhaps
never less cultivated in any country, than of late
among us. Hard-hearted indifference, to the distress
of the poor, the widow and the orphan, has risen up,
and has not been less unrestrained in this land.
This has cut out work for all the passions, and kept
them in constant employ. Pride and false honor have
disregarded our armies with the barbarous practice of
drinking and carousing have intruded their hands in the
bosom of friendship, while the connivance of superiors has given
sanction to the crime. Avarice stalks in the streets,
or lurks in the corners, and has stained the public
roads with inhuman murders. Avarice and extortion
were never carried here to such lengths. Fraud and
oppression sweep all before them; while debauchery
and vice fill both town and country. Glaring instances
of peculation, and breach of public trust, are sheltered
and unrebuked; and private robbery, thefts, and
burglaries, abound more than ever.'

'Intemperance, also, is become sadly common among
us men; and this monster, not content with human
sacrifices among men, and with making shipwreck of
many professors of religion too, has begun to ravage
the country over the greater part of the war. The
fact of the war of our revolution was the starting point,
the great fountain of our national intemperance.'

'Licentiousness, however, was perhaps the foulest
offshoot of the war. 'It is well known that this
period never had its parallel in America for the pre-
valence of all the vices of sensuality. Uncleanliness
was awfully increased; ante-nuptial fornications are so
slightly censured, that it has almost ceased to be re-
garded as a crime; adulteries are excused under the
name of gallantry; books utterly unfit for the
young eyes, are published; avowedly for purposes of
intrigue as a science; and the poisonous letters of a
British nobleman are eagerly bought up, read, and
commended as a standard of politeness and taste, though
the direct tendency is to patronize lewdness,
and make the world forget that chastity is a virtue.'

—Pence Manual, pp. 174-176.

At the time of the revolutionary war, there were
but few slaves, and slavery was fast withering away
under the scorching light of advancing truth, as pro-
claimed by a little faithful band of reformers, with
Benjamin Franklin at their head. It would soon
have died, had it not been watered by the blood of
freemen poured forth upon the roots of the great up-
start war, of which slavery is only a branch. The
spirit of war and slavery is one—the spirit of the de-
spot; and this it is that has been eating out the
vitality of our republican government, till now the
declared fact, that all men are created equal, and en-
dowed with certain inalienable rights, in defence of
which our fathers pledged their lives and sacred
honor, is pronounced a 'rhetorical flourish,' and one
of the inhabitants of the land reduced to the most
abject bondage that ever cursed the earth.

free-born sons of God sold in the shambles like oxen,
and the capital of our Republic noted for nothing
more than for its slave prisons and its slave auctions.
True, in the hall of Congress is heard, from a 'Gid-
dons' or a Hale, the echo of Liberty! but 'Gid-
dons' in a sepulchral tone, is at the same time heard
from the auctioneer, as he raises his hammer
over the head of his fellow-man, and tears him from
his wife and children and home for ever!

And, the angel of Providence would have us
listen to this, her warning voice. It is, indeed, 'Lib-
erty going,' rapidly going, and already so far gone
that now no one can be successful in the de-
spotic school of war; while at the same time, a nar-
rower to humanity is incarcerated in the cold cell of
the prison at our capital, for attempting to place the
cup of liberty to the lips of the famished; and such
is the public disregard to law, to order, to honor, to
the rights of man, to justice, liberty, or even life itself,
that if a citizen of the United States would pass from
one State to another to visit his relations and friends,
his aged parents even, to collect his debts, or more
especially to 'preach the gospel to the poor,' he
must leave his manhood and his conscience behind
him, or be hauled to the whipping-post, imprisoned,
stationed in the pillory, and then pelted with added
eggs and branded with the red hot iron, or shot.

Yes, more the ambassador of a sovereign State
is obliged to flee for his life, when the Legislature of
the State to which he is sent understands his mission
is justice and humanity. Surely there is burning elo-
quence and truth in the remark of J. C. Calhoun,
'If by any means we cannot be free, we must be free-
dom of the press, and the right of free speech, and
that our eyes, as a nation, might be opened to our
condition, and its cause.' This lawless spirit of de-
spoticism and disregard to right was born in our revo-
lutionary war, and has been nursed in our military
code ever since; and by the report of the Secretary
of our Navy, it appears that

'A stream of living blood is flowing from the backs
of American sailors from the first day of January to
the last day of December; that, on the lowest estimate,
we have an average of three hundred lashes of the
cat-of-nine-tails (2700 stripes!) for every day in the
year, on the backs of American seamen!'

This blood-sucker, I repeat, is the child of de-
spoticism, born in our revolutionary war. It began to
suck the veins of our Republic as soon as it came in-
to existence, and has been fattening on her life-blood
ever since. Yes, this is what occasions her pallid
and ghastly countenance, as lately seen in secret
conclave, concocting plans for self-dissolution, and
afterwards in the drunken revels and bacchanalian
fights in which our last session of Congress closed.
Indeed, such is the influence of despotic power, that
at the close of our revolutionary struggle, (having
been, even for so short a time, under its sway,) right
in the face of the declaration that man can govern
himself, the crown is offered to the commander-in-
chief of our army! Had not that commander-in-
chief been George Washington, our now boasted
form of a Republic would never have had even a
form.

How can we close our eyes to the fact that we
are receiving the damnation consequent upon our
'resisting the arrangement of God,' for not obeying
the holy mandate—'Let every soul be subject to the
higher powers.' How different might have been our
condition had we humbled ourselves before God,
and then, in the manner appointed of Heaven, sought
the redress of our grievances, putting our trust in
the Lord, and taking for our motto, 'Truth is
mighty, and will prevail'—'Agitate! Agitate!'

'There is no revolution but what is bought too dear,
if it cost one drop of human blood.'—The Lord of
hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge!
Then might we have had a government whose thi-
cets should be 'Peace,' and whose 'exactors'—
'Righteousness.' But now, I repeat, the bitter
fruits of our resisting have been seen in the form
of licentiousness, intemperance, Sabbath-breaking,
profanity, despotism and lawlessness. 'They that
resist shall receive to themselves damnation.' O,
when shall we learn that God is true to his word!

He is not a man that should lie, grow upon us, and
that should be 'weakness' and 'fear.' And He hath said,
'The fruit of Righteousness is sown in Peace, by those
who practice Peace.' Jas. 3:17, 18. 'Be not
deceived, God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man
soweth, that shall he also reap.' Gal. 6:7. 'Do men
gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so
every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an
evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot
bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree
bring forth good fruit.' O, how strange, then, that from age to age, this great, ugly,
pestiferous, craggy war tree has been reared and
cultured with so much expense and care, (watered
with tears of widows and orphans, mingled with
the blood of husbands, and fathers, and sons), as if
expecting righteousness to grow upon it! Van
quished! Even Republicanism, when en-
grafted into it, brings forth only 'sile figs'—so vile
that they cannot be eaten. Let it be hewn down and
cast into the fire!

Thus, instead of adopting the principle of an In-
surance Office, and making men contribute to the com-
mon exigencies in reasonable proportion to the amount
of their property secured to them by the social pro-
tection, they have laid heavy duties upon articles of
consumption, and most heavily upon those of which
the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest
portion of our revenue—it is fifty millions per annum—
mark, one million per week!—is raised from tea,
tobacco, spices, coffee, and other necessities of life.
Thus the man who gets one guinea per week, pays
out of that guinea one-third of his earnings in taxes,
and the rich man pays not a fifth or a hundredth part
of his income, and pays less in proportion as he is
richer.

You have, as a people, been unwise enough to copy
us in this; and though we have been taught wisdom
slowly, and are marching gradually into free trade,
you are unfortunately getting impressed, or rather
your statesmen are, with our errors, and increasing
your heavy duties. You will thus introduce into your
States the demoralization of smuggling. It is a say-
ing here, that the smuggler has been the great teacher
of foolish statesmen, and it is a true saying. Some
thirty years ago, bandanna handkerchiefs and other
articles in the soft trade were prohibited—not sub-
jected to a high duty merely, but actually prohibited.
The consequence was, that hardly a gentleman took a
handkerchief out of his pocket that was not a band-
anna. The result was, that the prohibition imposed
a ten per cent. insurance for English dealers could go
or send to Paris, and have the articles they wished
put into their own warehouses in England, by pay-
ing the Frenchman ten per cent. advance on the price.
If not delivered, no payment was required.

The prohibition was then converted into a duty,
and the result was that Government found that they
could not sustain, as against the smuggler, a duty of
more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer
had to pay as insurance to the smuggler, and the tem-
ptation to smuggle was not induced unless the duty
laid on was greater than fifteen per cent., because
the generality of traders consider safety and charac-
ter and freedom from informations, were worth the
additional five per cent.

All this demoralization to your people, your states-
men are about to introduce or increase, rather than
refer to the just principle of taxation, a graduated pro-
port to that which it would not be unjust to add a
small poll tax, in which those who had their lives and
liberties protected by the laws, without tangible
property, might pay something, which in justice they
ought to do, for that protection.

I should hope the Southerners will not submit to
this folly of the Northerners. Why should their
produce be shut out from the world, that manufactur-
ing in the Northern States may be benefitted at the
expense of the cotton-growers?

This, as between the Southern and Northern States,
is a fair objection on the part of the Southern States;
as between them, the question of slavery forms no
part of the argument, for we know that it is no ques-
tion of moral principle induces the Northern States to
take this course. I trust their antagonistic interests
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In your country, where you have not that rever-
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apply the sponge, than to set themselves to the honest
but tedious and suffering process of paying off.
You have, you know, in several of your States, earned
a repudiating character. Let us hope you will be
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your children may have the honesty to pay.

I shall remit to Richard Small two guineas, on ac-
count of 'The Liberator,' and remain,
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It is a grievous thing to see narrow principles put
forward by professed Republicans; and they are so
blind as to imagine themselves praiseworthy because
they are narrow and limited. We have here, in 1850,
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when, in fact, they were only asserting a warmer af-
fection, one which implies that they exclude the in-
terests of man, and narrow their sympathies to a spot.

It never surely can work unity among the States,
that its ministers should adopt the narrow principles
of exclusive trade, and hope to increase the wealth
of your country by limiting its commerce. Perhaps
there is one result that may flow, that you will not
object to. It may injure the cotton trade with En-
gland, and promote the abolition of slavery by induc-
ing the English to cultivate cotton in India, and
bring it to Europe cheaper than they now get it from
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This will be a double advantage to the world; for
while your planters will have less interest to pro-
mote slavery, the English must grant rights to the
Hindoo, that they may have motives to the cultiva-
tion of their soil. Its resources are immense; the
field of production is there unlimited, if justice is
done to the people, and the land made available; but
which cannot be until our Government gives an in-
terest in the produce to the cultivator.

It is a law of nature, and from which man cannot
escape, that a sufficient interest must be given to
the owner of the labor, ere you can realize its best
and greatest product. Let us hope, therefore, if
your Government should adopt the narrow views its
ministers have recently put forth, that out of this
seemingly evil, good will still be deduced.

It seems marvellously strange, that men who have
had tact enough to scramble up to the position of
Ministers of State should be so ignorant as not to
see, that every restriction upon exchange acts upon
the body social upon whom it is imposed, as a ligature
would set upon the human frame—it prevents
the healthy flow of life in the particular limb, and in-
jures the whole body.

If exchange is left free, no man will exchange any
thing he possesses for that which he does not want.
Every exchange prohibited, therefore, is an injury to
him whom, professedly, it is intended to benefit, and
whatever injures the individual, injures the body.
Suppose the exchange is with a foreigner, does
the fact that he gives something that is more wanted
than that which he receives from the exchange prove
the advantage to be on the part of those who get that
which they most want?

But, says the restrictionist, the foreigner will not
deal with me upon beneficial terms for other things.
Well, is that any reason for refusing those exchanges
which he professes and you desire?

Let us put a case:—A foreigner has wine and
groceries to sell; an American cotton and corn, in abun-
dant. The American offers cotton and corn in ex-
change for figs and wine, and the foreigner says,
No, I will not take your cotton, but I will give you
figs for corn. Would it not be inflicting a loss upon
yourself to refuse to exchange your surplus corn for
figs, because he will not also exchange his wine for
your cotton? This would be practically cutting off
your own nose to be re-venge upon his face. But
perhaps your Ministers will say—'This will teach
him in the end to exchange his wine also.' It might
do so, but not so quickly as letting him experience
the advantage of the partial exchange; just as we
find that the man who has saved \$50, and found the
advantage of capital so far, is more likely to save the
next hundred pounds than he who has never tasted
the advantage of hoarding up the first fifty. Let
him find his wine resting unsold in his bins, and
find himself without cash, he is not likely to contrast
this with the advantage he had made by the exchange
he did make, and so work upon his Government to
alter their laws?

Thus, instead of adopting the principle of an In-
surance Office, and making men contribute to the com-
mon exigencies in reasonable proportion to the amount
of their property secured to them by the social pro-
tection, they have laid heavy duties upon articles of
consumption, and most heavily upon those of which
the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest
portion of our revenue—it is fifty millions per annum—
mark, one million per week!—is raised from tea,
tobacco, spices, coffee, and other necessities of life.
Thus the man who gets one guinea per week, pays
out of that guinea one-third of his earnings in taxes,
and the rich man pays not a fifth or a hundredth part
of his income, and pays less in proportion as he is
richer.

You have, as a people, been unwise enough to copy
us in this; and though we have been taught wisdom
slowly, and are marching gradually into free trade,
you are unfortunately getting impressed, or rather
your statesmen are, with our errors, and increasing
your heavy duties. You will thus introduce into your
States the demoralization of smuggling. It is a say-
ing here, that the smuggler has been the great teacher
of foolish statesmen, and it is a true saying. Some
thirty years ago, bandanna handkerchiefs and other
articles in the soft trade were prohibited—not sub-
jected to a high duty merely, but actually prohibited.
The consequence was, that hardly a gentleman took a
handkerchief out of his pocket that was not a band-
anna. The result was, that the prohibition imposed
a ten per cent. insurance for English dealers could go
or send to Paris, and have the articles they wished
put into their own warehouses in England, by pay-
ing the Frenchman ten per cent. advance on the price.
If not delivered, no payment was required.

The prohibition was then converted into a duty,
and the result was that Government found that they
could not sustain, as against the smuggler, a duty of
more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer
had to pay as insurance to the smuggler, and the tem-
ptation to smuggle was not induced unless the duty
laid on was greater than fifteen per cent., because
the generality of traders consider safety and charac-
ter and freedom from informations, were worth the
additional five per cent.

All this demoralization to your people, your states-
men are about to introduce or increase, rather than
refer to the just principle of taxation, a graduated pro-
port to that which it would not be unjust to add a
small poll tax, in which those who had their lives and
liberties protected by the laws, without tangible
property, might pay something, which in justice they
ought to do, for that protection.

I should hope the Southerners will not submit to
this folly of the Northerners. Why should their
produce be shut out from the world, that manufactur-
ing in the Northern States may be benefitted at the
expense of the cotton-growers?

This, as between the Southern and Northern States,
is a fair objection on the part of the Southern States;
as between them, the question of slavery forms no
part of the argument, for we know that it is no ques-
tion of moral principle induces the Northern States to
take this course. I trust their antagonistic interests
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which cannot be until our Government gives an in-
terest in the produce to the cultivator.

It is deeply to be regretted that you, our descend-
ants, have not profited more in matters of government
and taxation from our errors. Our system of taxation
has been the most ignorant and injurious that could
well be devised; the whole system has been under
the narrow views and oppressive conduct of our aris-
tocracy; and when personal slavery and the feudal
system were abolished—partially, only, as regarded
the feudal system—the aristocracy, who still retained
the law-making in their own hands, substituted fraud
for force, and the study has been how to throw the
expense of the nation upon the lower classes, and to
relieve themselves from an equitable proportion of
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